

## Message Text

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TO USDEL SECRETARY IMMEDIATE

UNCLAS STATE 107168 TOSEC 040173

FOR CARTER FROM PA

E.O. 11652: N/A

TAGS: SOPN, OVIP (VANCE)

SUBJECT: PRESS MATERIAL

1. HERewith FULL TEXT CHARLES MOHR BYLINER NEW YORK  
TIMES MAY 11 HEADED "CARTER APPEARS TO HAVE ADOPTED  
QUIETER HUMAN RIGHTS APPROACH."

2. LONDON, MAY 10 -- ALTHOUGH PRESIDENT CARTER CON-  
TINUED DURING THE LONDON ECONOMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE TO  
EXPRESS HIS "CONCERN" ABOUT THE ISSUE OF HUMAN RIGHTS  
IN COUNTRIES WITH AUTHORITARIAN GOVERNMENTS, HE HAD  
APPARENTLY BEGUN LONG BEFORE TO TAKE A MORE CONVEN-  
TIONAL, CAUTIOUS AND DIPLOMATIC APPROACH TO THE PROBLEM.

3. SEVERAL WEEKS AGO, IT WAS DISCLOSED, MR. CARTER  
RECEIVED A SECOND LETTER FROM ANDREI D. SAKHAROV, A  
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LEADING SOVIET DISSIDENT. BUT A DECISION WAS MADE THAT  
MR. CARTER SHOULD NOT ANSWER THE LETTER. DR. SAKHAROV,  
A PHYSICIST WHO HELPED DEVELOP SOVIET NUCLEAR WEAPONS,  
WROTE TO MR. CARTER ON JAN. 21, ONE DAY AFTER THE IN-  
AUGURATION, AND MR. CARTER REPLIED.

4. SOME OF THE LEADERS WHO MET WITH THE PRESIDENT HERE

HAD EXPRESSED ALARM, MOSTLY IN PRIVATE, THAT HIS

OUTSPOKEN CRITICISM OF POLITICAL REPRESSION IN THE SOVIET UNION MIGHT ENDANGER THE ATMOSPHERE OF DETENTE AND THE PROSPECT FOR SUCCESSFUL NEGOTIATIONS TO LIMIT STRATEGIC ARMS.

5. HOWEVER, MR. CARTER HAD APPARENTLY ALREADY BEGUN TO SWING AROUND TO THEIR VIEW THAT MORE COULD BE ACCOMPLISHED BY QUIET DIPLOMATIC PRESSURES THAN BY OPEN CRITICISM OF THE KREMLIN. MR. CARTER HAS CONTINUED TO SAY THAT HE "RESERVES THE RIGHT" TO SPEAK OUT ABOUT HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS BUT HE HAS NOT DONE SO WITH REGARD TO ANY SPECIFIC CASE SINCE MARCH 1, MORE THAN TWO MONTHS AGO.

6. BUT EVEN ON THAT OCCASION MR. CARTER WAS BEGINNING TO SHOW A MORE CAUTIOUS ATTITUDE. HE PERMITTED VICE PRESIDENT MONDALE TO BE PHOTOGRAPHED WITH VLADMIR K. BUKOVSKY, AN OUTSPOKEN AND NOW EXILED RUSSIAN POLITICAL DISSIDENT, BUT FORBADE PHOTOGRAPHS OF HIMSELF WITH THE DISSIDENT WHEN HE JOINED THE CONVERSATIONS. THERE IS NO RECORD THAT MR. CARTER OR THE STATE DEPARTMENT HAS SPOKEN OUT ABOUT ANY SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE SINCE THAT MEETING, ALTHOUGH MR. CARTER HAS CONTINUED TO SAY HE WOULD "NEVER BACK DOWN" ON HIS HUMAN RIGHTS STAND.

7. MR. CARTER AROUSED INTEREST TODAY IN HIS SPEECH TO HIS FELLOW HEADS OF GOVERNMENT WHO ATTENDED THE MINIS-  
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TERIAL MEETING HERE OF THE NORTH ATLANTIC TREATY ORGANIZATION BECAUSE HIS LANGUAGE SEEMED TO CONFIRM THIS MORE MODEST APPROACH.

8. REFERRING TO A 35-NATION CONFERENCE THAT WILL TAKE PLACE IN BELGRADE, YUGOSLAVIA, NEXT MONTH TO REVIEW THE STEPS TAKEN IN CARRYING OUT THE HUMAN RIGHTS PROVISIONS OF THE AGREEMENT REACHED AT THE 1975 HELSINKI CONFERENCE ON EUROPEAN SECURITY, MR. CARTER SAID THE UNITED STATES SUPPORTED A "CAREFUL REVIEW OF PROGRESS BY ALL COUNTRIES IN IMPLEMENTING ALL PARTS" OF THE HELSINKI AGREEMENT. IN HIS PREPARED SPEECH TEXT THE WORD "ALL" WAS UNDERLINED BOTH TIMES THAT IT WAS USED.

9. HOWEVER, MR. CARTER WENT ON TO SAY, "WE APPROACH THESE MEETINGS IN A SPIRIT OF COOPERATION, NOT CONFRONTATION." HE ADDED THAT HIS CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS DID "NOT REFLECT A DESIRE TO IMPOSE OUR PARTICULAR POLITICAL OR SOCIAL ARRANGEMENTS ON ANY OTHER

COUNTRY." TWO DAYS BEFORE AT THE SEVEN-NATION ECONOMIC SUMMIT CONFERENCE HE HAD STRESSED THAT HIS HUMAN

RIGHTS POLICY WAS NOT AIMED SPECIFICALLY AT THE SOVIET UNION, WHICH HAS BITTERLY COMPLAINED THAT STATEMENTS MADE EARLY IN MR. CARTER'S ADMINISTRATION WERE MAKING NEGOTIATIONS DIFFICULT.

10. JODY POWELL, THE WHITE HOUSE PRESS SECRETARY, WAS ASKED TO COMMENT TODAY ON THE APPARENT SOFTENING OF MR. CARTER'S POSITION AND DISPUTED THAT THIS HAD OCCURRED. "THERE HAS BEEN NO CHANGE IN POLICY," MR. POWELL SAID. WHEN ASKED WHY THERE HAD BEEN NO COMMENT ON SPECIFIC HUMAN RIGHTS VIOLATIONS SINCE FEBRUARY, HE SAID, "THE FACTS WILL HAVE TO SPEAK FOR THEMSELVES." HE ADDED THAT MR. CARTER HAD SHOWN HIS CONCERN FOR HUMAN RIGHTS THIS WEEK BY SUGGESTING THAT THE WALL ERECTED BY UNCLASSIFIED

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EAST GERMANY TO SEAL OFF THE EASTERN SECTOR OF BERLIN SHOULD BE DISMANTLED.

11. SOVIET LEADERS HAD CLEARLY BEEN DISTURBED BY THE PRESIDENT'S ACT IN ANSWERING MR. SAKHAROV'S FIRST LETTER AND BY THE FACT THAT THE RESPONSE WAS DELIVERED BY THE AMERICAN EMBASSY IN MOSCOW. ALSO, IN JANUARY AND EARLY FEBRUARY, THE NEW ADMINISTRATION HAD BLUNTLY CRITICIZED OR WARNED MOSCOW, AND IN ANOTHER CASE CZECHOSLOVAKIA, ABOUT THE TREATMENT OF INDIVIDUALS WHO HAD BEEN ARRESTED OR SEEMED TO BE UNDER THREAT OF ARREST. THIS SORT OF DIRECT CRITICISM HAS STOPPED.

12. ONE ADMINISTRATION SOURCE, QUESTIONED ABOUT THE APPARENT POLICY SHIFT, PROTESTED THAT THE CARTER ADMINISTRATION HAD WORKED "THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS" TO ASK RUSSIAN LEADERS TO MODERATE THEIR TREATMENT OF SUCH DISSIDENTS AS YURI ORLOV AND ALEKSANDR GINZBURG, WHOSE CASES HAD BEEN PUBLICLY DISCUSSED EARLIER BY THE UNITED STATES. THIS SORT OF DIPLOMATIC APPROACH, HOWEVER, WAS EXACTLY THE KIND OF ALTERNATIVE THAT CRITICS OF THE MORE OUTSPOKEN EARLIER POLICY HAD SUGGESTED. IT IS IN HARMONY WITH THE ATTITUDE EXPRESSED BY SUCH WESTERN LEADERS AS PRIME MINISTER PIERRE ELLIOT TRUDEAU OF CANADA AND PRIME MINISTER HELMUT SCHMIDT OF WEST GERMANY.

13. MR. CARTER HAS INVESTED SO MUCH OF HIS DOMESTIC POLITICAL PRESTIGE IN THE HUMAN RIGHTS ISSUE THAT HE TENDS TO REJECT STRONGLY ANY IMPLICATION THAT HE IS SOFTENING HIS APPROACH.

14. THE PRESIDENT IS EXPECTED TO STRESS HIS SUPPORT FOR  
HUMAN RIGHTS IN A SPEECH LATER THIS MONTH AT NOTRE DAME  
UNIVERSITY IN SOUTH BEND, IND. BUT WHETHER HE AGAIN

SIMPLY "RESERVES" HIS RIGHT TO SPEAK OUT ON THE ISSUE OR  
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WHETHER HE CRITICIZES VIOLATORS OF HUMAN RIGHTS BY NAME,  
WILL BE A CLOSELY WATCHED QUESTION. END TEXT. CHRISTOPHER

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